1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapûche-Huilliche

chiawn, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *empives*, who work with herbs; *nilwes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[14]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[15] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[16] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

[14] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Mossbach, 1930, pp. 330–40.

[16] Cf. Hunter, 1935, p. 113.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. For cutting a darea, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans."

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being tramped upon (kailfilkau) either by human beings, or by horses on hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop."

In Alepúe area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its loads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha.

In Cofaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco,* it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *ayuda mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucaniane SG4
Mapuche

396 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
393 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
357 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the cure performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

393 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
752 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his ramada to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

393 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
752 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.